4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Presbyterians preach against divorce but place no absolute ban upon it, as does the Roman Catholic church. For a Catholic, remarriage following divorce involves the risk of denial of communion or even excommunication. This is a serious deterrent to good Catholics, who are fairly numerous in the eastern districts. 586

CHILDREN IN THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Marriage without children is almost incomprehensible to the Papago. They invariably say, "Every girl wants to get married and have children." Contraceptive measures are so rare as to be almost unheard of, and the occasional woman who says she does not want children is severely criticized. Yet there are no strong sanctions against abortion. The Papago strongly disapprove, but they are not shocked into action, and there are no penalties except criticism; they feel that no one else can rightfully interfere with what is really the concern of a woman and her family. On the other hand, if a man and wife have no children for some time, there is speculation by others, and the couple may visit a medicine man to determine the cause. 842 847

If Papago are asked why they welcome children, they are likely to say, "They help us with the work. They take care of us when we are old." Neither of these reasons should be underestimated. Many hands make somewhat lighter the arduous work of wringing a living from the desert, and an assured source of help in old age is especially important in a society where savings accounts and insurance are virtually nonexistent, if not impossible, because cash incomes are too low. Then, too, children are welcomed by their parents because they bring improved social status. 842 [554]

Undoubtedly bound up with all these factors, but potent in itself, is the sheer affection that the Papago have for their children. Open display of love is exceedingly rare between adults, but they fondle and make much of a child. Parents do not like to be separated from their children, and the usually reserved Papago man will allow himself to express such joy and affection at being reunited with his children as he would never show for his wife in public. Not only parents but all relatives pet little children. When small, children are treated as very dear and irresponsible beings; they are seldom struck or otherwise punished. But "when they know better," they are treated as individuals with growing responsibilities. They must learn to act in accordance with Papago ideals, to be obedient at all times, not to "talk back" to their elders, and to be unobtrusive when the elders are busy. But at no time are they set apart in a separate world; the activities of adults are open to them when they are ready and able to participate. 855

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that define passage from one stage to another—the birth ceremony and the girl's puberty rite—are private occasions which do not serve as announcements but merely as insurance of the well-being of the individual and his family. The terms the Papago use show their indifference to time concepts: the tiny infant is called "just born"; "child," "boy," or "girl" are used from infancy to adolescence, and "girl youth" or "boy youth" between puberty and marriage. In other words, between early infancy and marriage the Papago recognize only two stages: before and after pubescence. However, there is no more radical change in behavior patterns at pubescence than at any other time.

This distinction illustrates very well the usual child development pattern of the Papago; training is informal and leisurely, attuned to the child's natural pace and accomplished with little conscious planning. The process is continuous, with few absolute landmarks; one phase blends into and overlaps those preceding and following it. Small wonder that the Papago use biological manifestations to mark the changes.

Since this study is written for readers who are accustomed to the white pattern of clear age groups and because such classification facilitates comparison with child development elsewhere, the 0–4, 5–10, and 11–18 age groups will be used here. We now turn to the first phase.

BEFORE THE BABY IS BORN

Papago children are more widely spaced than among some Indian tribes and white groups of similar economic status. There are a few families in which a child is born every year, but, judging from census records, in most families births occur from eighteen to thirty months apart.[1] Considering the death rate among Papago children, the average is near the lower end of this range. Most of the women seem to prefer not having a child every year because they feel that they cannot adequately care for so many children and will be likely to lose them. But, as noted in chapter iv, apparently most women take no contraceptive measures, and the taboo on intercourse for a month after childbirth no longer prevails.

Life goes on much as usual for the expectant mother, and there appears to be little illness in connection with pregnancy. No special considerations are shown her, and the pregnant woman performs all her usual tasks, lest she have a difficult birth. On the other hand, she is not segregated or given extra duties.

Some taboos are still in force for prospective parents. They must stay away from animals that make children sick, and they must not touch animal blood. The father avoids killing rattlesnakes and rabbits, but most men no longer re-

1. This statement is qualified by the unconcern with chronology noted above.

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frain from butchering cattle or going hunting, as they did in the old days. The mother observes certain other taboos: she must not allow dogs to breathe upon her; she must not look directly at the sun; and, according to one informant, she must not stare at or mock a cripple, lest the child be similarly afflicted.[2] Today most parents apparently are not too concerned about these dangers, but if an illness of the child is attributed by the medicine man to some infraction of these rules, the parents readily accept the interpretation. One young father blamed his little son's illness on the fact that, during his wife's pregnancy, he had helped white men test the blood of horses.

The whole household looks forward with joy to the coming of another baby, for children increase the status of the parents, insure the future solidarity and prosperity of the household, and secure the elders against the privations of helpless old age. Although the male is dominant in this Indian group, not much preference is shown for boys; children of either sex are welcomed and treated with equal care. The Papago are aware, however, that one capable woman can manage a large household but that one man cannot handle a farm and herd. Hence the loss of a male child is felt more keenly, as is apparent in such phrases as "and it was a boy too!" There is no evidence that twins are considered undesirable or that one of them is put out of the way. Several sets of living twins are known to the writer, and people speak readily of the death of one of a pair of twins.[3]

BIRTH

The great majority of Papago are born at home. In the western districts, the distance to the Reservation hospital at Sells (sixty-five to one hundred miles), bad roads, and general distrust of white medicine keep most women from going to the hospital. Even the inhabitants of the eastern districts, who are closer to the hospital, do not seem to relish the thought of their babies being delivered by a white man.[4]

In childbirth at home the mother is attended by her own mother if possible; otherwise by her husband's mother or any adult female of the household. The woman in labor kneels and grips a post or is supported by the attendants. If

2. Ruth Underhill, *The Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, p. 156.

3. There is some indication that, if one twin must die, it should preferably be the last-born. A medicine man carves wooden figurines about seven inches high which represent the twins. One figurine is buried with the dead child and the other is kept in the house with the living twin. Each is thus thought to be unaware that his twin is not with him; neither will become lonely for the other and attempt reunion. In the old days, according to Underhill (*ibid.*, p. 158), twins were considered to have magic power.

4. Between 1940 and 1943 three Hickiwan women who had learned English at school went to the hospital, but two did not go until after difficult deliveries at home. In the East, hospital deliveries are more frequent, but they are still only a small fraction of the total.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

164 At the end of the 1950 season when harvesters were gleaning the last bits of fiber from the fields, spinal meningitis killed a baby and his 4-year old sister and hospitalized 6 other residents of a labor camp in the Stanfield area. State Health Department officials charged filthy conditions in the camp were responsible,[1] and treated 50 camp inhabitants with sulfa drugs after posting officers to quarantine the camp.[2]

These are conditions threatening permanent residents of the cotton growing counties, and Papago and other migrant workers who live in labor camps. This is why a reservation town like Santa Rosa can be virtually prostrated by influenza at the end of the picking season when the Desert People return to their reserves.

752 Some ills Papagos fall heir to in camps are more or less special cases, like the woman whose foot was run over by a car in Magdalena. Once in a while some one is 164 bitten by a spider. The Desert People are susceptible to 842 colds and pregnancy, as one farmer put it. But one ser- 853 ious problem they share with many Southwestern Indians 165 is a tendency to feed infants an unsuitable diet. In one labor camp 2 Papago babies died during the summer of 1950 from stomach disorders apparently resulting from eating green fruits in excess and other unsuited foods.

75 The health problem of the Desert People is compounded 177 by their reluctance to submit to European medical treatment. Papago attitudes toward European medicine vary a great deal, from educated individuals who rely on it to conservative families who have nothing to do with it. These most Papago of Papagos baffle farmers who trust in Western medicine implicitly and cannot fathom Papago reasons for not accepting it. One grower, himself of a minority group, could not understand how Papagos could "just lay there and die." But they can, and do, because they know nothing else. Their trust is in native medical practicioners. They do not turn to Western doctors because there have not been enough provided by the Indian Bureau to care for them, and the Papago medical staff has not effectively "sold" itself to the Desert People. All their training has taught the Desert People a system of disease and curing concepts totally different from those of the European doctor's.

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, Feb. 6, 1951.
[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb. 6, 1951.